1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

852 The minutiae of the ceremonies differ, but a composite de-
302 scription, distilled from some half-dozen separate accounts, re-
756 duces to the following elements. Pollen from cattail or from one
788 of a number of other sources is applied to the cheeks and head of the child four times and scattered clockwise to the cardinal directions. Then his hair, with the exception of one or more locks, is closely cropped. Meanwhile the shaman prays for his long life and good health. The shaman may cut off a lock of his own and mix it with the shorn hair, saying, "May this child's hair be as thick as mine." The hair is usually placed in a fruit-bearing tree with this prayer, "May many seasons come and the child live long." The pollen on the child's face is not removed but is allowed to wear away. Each boy and girl should undergo this ceremony at least once. Ideally, the rite should be repeated for four successive springs, with the same individual officiating.

862 It is about this time that weaning takes place. Gradually, as
[853] teeth appear, the child is introduced to light foods so "it will not be so hungry and demand the nipple so much." Sometimes the baby is simply forced away from the breast and given to understand that he must henceforth depend on other food. More often something sour or peppery, like chili, is put on the nipples. The child is told that the milk "is this way now" and rapidly loses interest in nursing.

SURROUNDINGS

596 The household into which the child is born is one of a cluster
621 of elementary families related through the maternal line. Near
361 an older man and woman reside their unmarried sons and daughters, their married daughters and the sons-in-law, their daughters' daughters (married and unmarried), and their daughters' unmarried sons. The number of separate dwellings varies according to the size of the group and the ages and marital status of the individuals involved. Each daughter, upon marriage, occupies a
[591] separate dwelling with her husband. Ordinarily, an unmarried son lives in his parents' household, but an adult unmarried son might have his own adjoining dwelling.

596 It is with the members of this maternal extended family that

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

the child has his earliest and most meaningful contacts. In his own household live his parents and his brothers and sisters. Only adoption or exceptional circumstances bring others into the home. Within easy reach are the maternal grandparents, the mother's sisters and their husbands and children, and the mother's unmarried brothers.

The child is not entirely cut off from other contacts. The extended family from which his father has come may be located in the same vicinity. Then the paternal relatives will see him often and show great affection for him.

Kinship is reckoned bilaterally. There are no special modes of address or obligations owed to maternal relatives which are withheld from paternal relatives. That the mother's kin figure so prominently is a mechanical reaction to the rule of residence and the scattered and isolated state of the extended families rather than to any theories concerning the closeness or remoteness of particular lines of kin.

The adult men the child sees are dressed in long-sleeved buckskin shirts, with rounded neck opening and with fringe at the shoulders and at the lower ends of the sleeves. They also wear broad loincloths of the same material which fall to a point just above the knees in front and hang in back "just high enough so they won't be stepped on." For footgear they have knee-high moccasins with uppers turned down in folds. These folds are convenient places in which to carry knives or small objects. Often an upward-curving, disk-shaped piece about an inch and a half in diameter projects beyond the toe. This is really a portion of the rawhide sole which has been pounded, moistened, and sewed into position at either side. When it dries, it stays fixed. This projection is found most often on moccasins made for special or dress occasions. "The upturned toe is for decoration only; it's of no special use. In fact, a person sometimes trips on it."

The high boot is the characteristic type, but, when buckskin is scarce, low-cut moccasins suffice. Sometimes high moccasins are worn in cold weather and low ones in summer. Among the members of the Eastern Chiricahua band, but not the Southern and Central Chiricahua, the low-cut moccasins are used almost as frequently as the others.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

position of stepmother to these youngsters.[11] Her very closeness to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked together since childhood, establishes her interest in the development of her sister's children. The chances are that she will perform protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home, and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need. At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give generously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the instruction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficiency. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants, it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encampment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home. At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking. Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[11] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Courtship, elopement, and ideals of beauty.—Only shortsighted parents fail to plan and guide their daughter's future properly, for, with matrilocal residence in force, an undisciplined daughter or an improvident son-in-law may well be their ruin as they grow older and more dependent on the younger workers. Parents and close relatives owe a girl affection, the necessities of life, protection from natural and supernatural enemies, and proper training during her formative years. In return they expect gratitude from her for the sacrifices they have made, obedience, and stable conduct.

Unmarried girls are carefully guarded by their relatives:

> They are pretty strict with girls after the puberty ceremony and before marriage. The girls are made to cook and sew. The mother, father, or brother attends them to or from a dance. Unmarried women, if young, are not allowed at a tiswin party.

In the words of another informant:

> The girl was watched carefully by her folks. Because of this it was necessary to have someone approach the parents and speak for you if you wanted to marry a girl. It was almost impossible to court a girl. Men had to do it on the sly.

From this statement we see the strategic advantage to the parents of premarital control over their daughters. It brings suitors or their representatives directly to them, allowing them to choose their sons-in-law and to fix the terms of the agreement.

The same degree of supervision is not exercised over the son:

> They are very strict with the girls. The girls are given general information by parents and relatives. The girls have attendants when they go to dances and they are watched in the home too. The parents are not so strict with the boys. The boys are given more freedom.

The absence of any approved period of courtship is emphasized in the account of a father who advised his daughter "not to go around with any man until she was married." An able informant summed up the matter by saying: "There is not much courtship. Marriage is usually arranged. The young people do not have much to say about it. The boy has the best of it. If he sees a girl he likes, he will go to his father and tell him."

Though no period of open courtship is institutionalized, there are ways for young people who are attracted to each other to meet:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

584 In the old days it was considered shameful to go openly with a girl. If a man liked a girl, he would try to put himself in her way as much as possible without attracting notice. He would try to get to every social dance that she went to. That was the Chiricahua substitute for taking a girl out. It gave the young people a chance to meet. It gave the girl a chance to show whom she liked. If a girl chose the same man for a partner many times, you could be sure that that couple might get married. If a boy liked a girl and she showed him attention in this way, he might go to his father or his uncle or some other close relative and ask if he would try to arrange a marriage. Sometimes the boy would be turned down and sometimes not; he never knew.

D. is going through this stage now. He is in love with S.'s daughter. . . . . He doesn't do anything. He just goes to the store when he thinks she'll be there. He gets in a word or two. Then he goes one way and she goes another. He'll be watching every few minutes from the other side of the canyon. Pretty soon she'll come for water. He will be watching and will come to the place by a roundabout way, timing it to get there while she's there. Then he'll get in a couple of more words. Later she'll find some excuse to go off somewhere where he is, and so on.

Many understandings are reached following a military triumph. This is the time when spirits are high and when young men have won a stake which permits them to join the ranks of the suitors. "The Chiricahua turned their victories into a celebration, a dancing and marrying time. Lots of young men took advantage of the occasion."

583 602 The etiquette regulating the conduct of the married man and his wife's relatives makes elopement almost an impossibility. When it occurs, the affront to the girl's family is so serious that the offending couple is forced to live in isolation unless forgiveness and approval can be secured. "There are few cases of elopement. A girl who is not trained right might elope. Usually the couple doesn't come back to the girl's folks to live then but makes a camp apart."

832 826 But, even though their parents and relatives have much to say about the choice of a mate, the young people have their own standards of beauty and desirability and their own ways of influencing the issue. Concerning the physical traits in a girl which excite most admiration, and those which are least well considered, the following pronouncement is typical:

Girls with big lips, or a big nose, or with skin too dark; who are stooped or have big feet; who have a Roman nose or one too wide, or who have too long a

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

583 It would be a mistake to interpret these presents as a "bride price." They do not entitle the husband or his family to any extraordinary control over the wife or her property. In fact, the control exercised by the wife's family over the husband is much more stringent than that to which the woman is subject, despite the total absence of any exchange gifts to the man's family. Moreover, these gifts or their equivalents are never returned, not even in cases of unfaithfulness on the part of the woman or of dissolution of the marriage tie.

[182] [602] [606] The marriage gift functions as initial evidence of the economic support, co-operation, and generosity which a man owes his wife's close relatives. The promise of future assistance can even take the place of the gift on occasion, for it is said that a poor man, unable to muster wealth at the time he wishes to marry, might say: "I am poor, but whatever I am able to accumulate in the way of material things will be yours, for I will be here with you all the time."

The usual practice, after the presents have been received, is to "divide them up among the relatives." Kin of the girl who have contributed to her support and who have been consulted about the marriage arrangements, are sure to receive some part, if only a token offering.

585 [591] As soon as a separate dwelling can be built and equipped, the young couple begin their married life together, without ritual or formalities:

> A day or two after consent is given, the marriage takes place. As soon as everything is ready they start living together. The girl and her female relatives build the house. They put it up near the home of the girl's parents, for the young people usually go to live with the girl's relatives. The relatives of the girl usually furnish baskets and household equipment for the place, though sometimes the man's family may give them things with which to start out.

591 606 This emphasis upon matrilocal residence calls attention to one of the fundamental themes of the culture, for the organization of the economy assumes the presence and the closest co-operation of the sons-in-law.

> A man feels under obligation to his father-in-law. He feels that he should hunt for him. Therefore, there was the tendency in the old days to go to the wife's people. A man's parents recognized this obligation too. They often said, "Well, that's what you married for. You'd better go over there."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Residence with or near his affinities is almost imperative for the man, for obviously it would be an insupportable burden for him to maintain a distant encampment of his own and still provide liberally for his wife's parents. Moreover, his identification with these affinal relatives is not without its reciprocal benefits.

At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girl's parents to live. We do this because a woman is more valuable than a man. We do it to accommodate the woman. The son-in-law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them. In return he has privileges with the property of his wife's people. He can get anything they have very easily. It is understood that he can call on them for aid. This relationship dates from the time of consent to the marriage.

Sometimes the arrival of the groom is the signal for a celebration at the encampment of the bride to which relatives and friends of the couple are invited. The expense and labor are borne by the woman's relatives, although the man's kin, if they live close by, may assist. The program is the usual one of games, feasting, and social dancing. The festivities continue through a day and late into the night.

After marriage the face of the world is changed for the young man: he removes to another residence, he becomes drawn into the orbit of a new economic constellation, and he becomes subject to the edicts and desires of new masters.

THE MAN AND HIS WIFE'S RELATIVES

Primary avoidances and the avoidance behavior pattern.—The regular terms for various affinal relatives are all forms of one verb—the verb "to carry a burden." There have been recent extensions of the meaning of this root, but in the older sense the burden to which reference is made seems to have been the proceeds of the hunt:

I can say to anyone, "I will bring in [carry in] deer for you," using this word. Friends have said this to me because I do not hunt much. I say to them, using the same word, "Yes, bring in the game for me." This does not imply any relationship between us necessarily. On the other hand, when it comes to marriage, we speak of one who marries into our family as "one who carries things in for me" in the sense of "one who goes out and kills and carries in game for me." The word means to me that in the old days a son-in-law would go out and kill game

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

601 192 224 606 for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

601 602 192 [606] It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

584 602 606 From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoidance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

606 602 [591] [585] 606 591 264 596 602 [361]

A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

593 264 606 [196] The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

606 578 596 his obligations to them satisfactorily. "The mother-in-law sticks up for the son-in-law in case of trouble if he is known to be a good man. The mother-in-law does not beat about the bush. She tells the person right out what is in her mind."

[178] That the son-in-law can expect justice and consideration is illustrated by a case, phrased in terms of present-day economy, which preserves values operative in purely aboriginal times. The [156] son-in-law here assumes a passive attitude, for it would be unbecoming of him to voice his own demands.

606 607 578 596 If one of the sons is lazy and the brother-in-law does all the work, all the herding, and, when they come to sell the sheep or to slaughter the animals, the son wants his proportionate share of the proceeds, his father will say to him, "My son, your brother-in-law did all the work. Now you want just as much of the profit as if you had worked. You must go and see your sister."

His sister says, "Take your bunch of sheep and put them in some other flock. Get someone who will herd your sheep for nothing! That's what you are looking for." The brother-in-law will sit by, keeping his peace.

606 596 Avoidance and honor comprise only one aspect of a man's obligations to his wife's parents; the other facet is the duty of [593] economic support. "A son may help support the old people if he desires to, but the son-in-law has to support them."

[224] If his father-in-law wants a son-in-law to do something, he has to do it. If he is given a bow and arrows, he has to go out. He is supposed to turn the whole deer over to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and not to take any unless they give it to him. The father-in-law and mother-in-law can share it with their neighbors if they wish to. The young man gives to his in-laws even if he is not ordered out to hunt by them.

606 596 This sense of identification with the economic activities of the wife's relatives begins immediately upon marriage. "There is something about it so that a man helps his wife's people." "As soon as a man marries he feels that he should work for his father-in-law and mother-in-law." The connection between this economic tie and the rule of residence is again emphasized. "It is usual to live with the wife's people. In the old days the boy had to work for his father-in-law. If a man killed two deer, he would give most of it to his wife's people." But so strong is the sense of economic obligation to the wife's parents that its dictates are heeded even when, for some reason, matrilocal residence is not

606 591 596

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

maintained. One informant said, "Now I live a mile or so from my mother-in-law. I always want to help her though, for she is alone and getting old."

This assistance is accepted as a matter of course and is viewed as a right by the older affinity. "A man would come to a son-in-law for aid before he would approach anyone else, even his own brother." Requests made of a brother are a test of fraternal solidarity and are seldom refused, but they constitute a tax on the generosity of one who has obligations in other directions. To approach the son-in-law instead relates to a primary economic duty.

Although the son-in-law (because he is younger and more vigorous than his wife's father) is called upon for the most arduous duties of the extended family, he, too, derives benefits from the arrangement, for "he may take anything belonging to the parents-in-law, not because they are rich or poor, but because that is the rule."

Often, in the economic exchanges that follow a marriage, the son-in-law is by far the gainer. He may come to his wife's relatives as a young man without many possessions. The older members of the encampment which he joins may be wealthy and influential. Whatever of their goods he needs he may use freely, and the reputation of the family advances his interests.

It occasionally happens that an affinal relative takes advantage of the son-in-law. One man was considerably piqued because his mother-in-law, who had carried away untanned hides from his home with the understanding that she would keep some for herself and return the others tanned, had conveniently forgotten the latter part of the agreement. He was particularly irritated because nothing could be done about the matter, since it was his mother-in-law who was involved.

On the other hand, there are cases where a man has attempted to elude the claims of his parent-in-law:

> This year I had to make J. help my other son-in-law put up my camp at the grounds of the girl's puberty rite. I asked him a first time, and he sent word that he was working. I knew he wasn't doing a thing. So I sent someone with word that he had to do it, and so he did.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

621 582 602 those who camped together all the time, until they became so intermarried that the younger people were really relatives, and then men had to go elsewhere for wives." And yet, the better chance of the young people of the same district to become acquainted, the fluidity of the local group over the years, and the tendency to forget quickly remoter kin who are deceased make it possible for many of the youths to find eligible mates in their own local groups and to strengthen the ties between the resident families.

582 621 602 571 [596] Even when the extended families united by the marriage of their younger members do not reside in the same local group, they are drawn into closer understanding by these marital arrangements:

> If a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his kin do not consider themselves related to his wife's people. But there is a relationship of mutual friendliness and help which is set up between the two families. If someone of the family of the boy is giving a tiswin party or a social dance, the members of the other family are sure to be invited. The relationship is expressed by this term, "friends we have become." If a person uses this of another, it is understood that they are friends because of the marriage of a relative of one to a relative of the other. This word can be used for other things. You can say, using it, "Because he gave me something, we have become friends," but in this case the reason for the friendship has to be expressed. If the word is used alone, it gives the idea of friendship through marriage.
>
> N. is on especially friendly terms with D. and his family. He borrows their property and can get help there any time. Yet N. and D. are not relatives. They have no right to call each other anything. It is because N.'s sister married D.'s brother; their relatives have married. This is a good example of "friends we have become."

621 602 591 When two families whose members marry live in the same local group, the benefits of the new bond are not difficult to exploit. This is less simple when the families are separated by some distance. Consequently, there is a tendency for intermarried families to make the logical adjustments. "The family of a married man would be very likely to locate near the family of the girl he married, because they considered themselves bound by ties of friendship. They would all be in the same local group, camping in the same general region."

Obviously, this is no rule which can be strictly followed. Where a number of sons marry into separated groups, a choice

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

has to be made if the family is to live near "friends." All that can be said is that residence in one place rather than in another may be determined by the presence there of a family with which friendly connections have been established through marriage.

The presence of his own kin in the same local group where he lives with his affinities assures the newly married man of the perpetuation of a good many past ties, as an understanding of the relations between the extended family and the local group suggests.

The local group is a cluster of encampments in one general locality. It is a division of the larger group, the band. The people in it all camp around some well-known spot from which the local group gets its name. Those who camp around Mora Mountain are called "People of Mora Mountain." This refers to all the people living together in this region. But within the local group there would be other divisions. All would not live at one place. Some would camp on one side of the mountain, some would camp on the other. Others might camp at any favorable spot near water. These smaller groups or camps are decided along relationship lines. That is, all the relatives and those who marry into a certain family live together.

These smaller units, the extended families, are referred to by means of the leading men in them. Thus, we speak of N.'s encampment, C.'s encampment. The local group is not a relationship group strictly, but the extended family does consist of relatives. If a person asks, "Who are you? To what people do you belong?" you give the name of your band. But if someone asks where you live, you say that you are one of a certain local group.

The local group tie is essentially one of residence and may be severed summarily:

The children are usually members of the local group to which the mother belongs, because a man is supposed to live near and work for his wife's people. When a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his direct affiliation with the first local group is over. He is now related by marriage to people in the second local group. But he has relatives in the first one, and in case of trouble or divorce he would go back there.

Further characteristics of the local group are summarized in this explanation:

The local group consists of a number of extended families living near some prominent family, that is, living around some family who has a good leader. This leader would be expected to lead the men of the local group when they go on [illegible] engage in war. But each extended family has its own place to store food. And whenever a girl's puberty rite takes place, people outside the local group come too.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

534 For musical instruments these Apache used the drum, the animal-hoof rattle, the musical bow, the flageolet, and a curious one-stringed fiddle made from the flowering stalk [276] of sotol which may be of Spanish origin. In their peyote rite [796] the Mescaleros accompanied their songs with the gourd rattle.

411 In addition to the shield and the bow and arrow, which have already been mentioned, the Mescalero and Chiricahua fought with spears, slings, flint knives, and war clubs of a number of types. Quivers, bow covers, and wrist-guards were other material items belonging to the war complex.

433 That these people made cradle-boards, fire drills, parfleches, skin tipis, and cloths and blankets of buckskin and animal hides has already been indicated. Water transportation 501 was solved by the construction of a crude bull-boat or raft-like structure.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

596 The tribe, band, and local group have already been described. The remaining social segment is the extended domestic family, which acted as the basic economic unit. Such an extended family would be housed in a cluster of individual dwellings and would ideally consist in an older married couple, their unmarried children, their married daughters, [591] the sons-in-law, and the issue of these. As can be inferred from this, residence was matrilocal. All the cooking [252] for the members of this family group was carried on at one place by the mother and her daughters, and the latter sub- [606] sequently took portions of the prepared food to their husbands and children, for a mother-in-law—son-in-law avoid- [476] ance was in effect. Whenever there was work to be done which involved the labor of more than one person, the men or women of this extended family, according to the nature of the task, assisted each other in its execution.

584 Marriage was arranged between the older kin of the man and woman involved, usually at the instigation of the young man, who, with the approval of his own relatives,